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THE PERSONAL REFERENCES IN THE SATIRES OF HORACE

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It is sometimes urged that Horace did not dare to be personal in his *Satires* and that, as a general rule, it is impossible to identify those who are mentioned in an unflattering way with living contemporaries.¹ It is maintained that Horace, for the most part, assailed the people of his time under fictitious names. I shall show that this is not the case, for Horace did attack real persons to a greater extent than fictitious characters, and at the time the *Satires* were written the majority (over 65 per cent) of these persons were actually alive.

I have divided the personal references into two classes: first, the references to unreal or fictitious characters, and, second, the references to real persons. The latter I have subdivided under two heads, the favorable and the unfavorable references, and each of these again into references to the living and to the dead.

In some cases it is difficult to decide, with accuracy, to which class the reference belongs. There is, therefore, in those cases, room for difference of opinion; but in general we can be reasonably sure of the classification.

To fictitious characters there are forty-five references, forty-three to type characters, and two² to characters mentioned only casually. There is only one favorable reference,³ and that is to Davus, the typical slave. On the other hand, there is an overwhelming number—forty-two—of caustic criticisms⁴ such as those

¹ Palmer, *Horace's Satires*, Preface, pp. xiii-xv; Kiessling, *Horace's Satires*, Preface, p. xiii.

² Trebonius, i. 4. 114; Volanerius, ii. 7. 15.

³ Davus, ii. 7. 2.

⁴ Albius, i. 4. 27. 109; Albucius, ii. 2. 67; Avidienius, ii. 2. 55; Baius, i. 4. 110; Barrus, i. 7. 8; Balbinus, i. 3. 40; Birrus, i. 4. 69; Caelius, i. 4. 69; Cicuta, ii. 3. 69. 175; Dama, i. 6. 38; ii. 5. 18. 101; Davus, ii. 7. 100; Dionysus, i. 6. 38; Fulvius, ii. 7. 96;

on Nasidienus, the vulgar nouveau riche host; to Nomentanus, the spendthrift; to the parasites, gladiators, and slaves. The two characters merely mentioned are colorless.

In referring to real characters, there are twenty-seven favorable references and fifty-eight unfavorable references. Each of these may be divided again into two classes, the references to the living and to the dead. Of the twenty-seven favorable references, eleven are to the dead and sixteen to the living;¹ but in comparison, the unfavorable remarks show a much larger percentage of the living, only eighteen being to the dead and forty to those still alive when the *Satires* were written.² This shows that Horace was perfectly

Hagne, i. 3. 40; Hellas, ii. 3. 277; Maenius, i. 1. 101; i. 3. 21. 23; Marius, ii. 3. 277; Menenus, ii. 3. 287; Milonius, ii. 1. 24; Mulvius, ii. 7. 36; Naevius, ii. 2. 68; Nasidienus, ii. 8. 1. 58. 75. 84; Nerius, ii. 3. 69; Nomentanus, ii. 8. 23. 25. 62; Nomentanus, i. 1. 101; i. 8. 11; ii. 1. 22; ii. 3. 175. 224; Novius, i. 3. 21; Opimius, ii. 3. 142; Pacideianus, ii. 7. 97; Pantilius, i. 10. 78; Pantolabus, i. 8. 11; ii. 1. 22; Perellius, ii. 3. 75; Pomponius, i. 4. 52; Porcius, ii. 8. 23; Priscus, ii. 7. 9; Rutuba, ii. 7. 96; Sabella, i. 9. 29; Sagana, i. 8. 25. 41. 48; Scetanus, i. 4. 112; Sisenna, i. 7. 8; Syrus, i. 6. 38; Trausius, ii. 2. 99; Ummidius, i. 1. 95.

¹ To the dead: Aristophanes, i. 4. 1; Caesar, ii. 1. 11; Cratinus, i. 4. 1; Decius, i. 6. 20; Eupolis, i. 4. 1; Homer, i. 10. 52; Laelius, ii. 1. 65. 72; Lucilius, i. 10. 53. 64-71; ii. 1. 29. 62; Polemon, ii. 3. 254; Scipio, ii. 1. 72; Valerius, i. 6. 12.

To the living: Cocceius, i. 5. 50; Corvinus, i. 10. 29; Fonteius, i. 5. 32; Fondaninus, i. 10. 42; ii. 8. 19; Fuscus, i. 9. 61; i. 10. 83; Heliodorus, i. 5. 2; Maecenas, i. 6. 1. 110. 81; ii. 6. 41; i. 3. 64; ii. 3. 312; Octavius, i. 10. 82; Ofellus, ii. 2. 2. 54. 112; Plotius, i. 5. 40; i. 10. 81; Pollio, i. 10. 42; Publicola, i. 10. 28; Turbo, ii. 3. 210; Valgius, i. 10. 82; Varius, i. 5. 40. 94; i. 6. 55; i. 10. 44. 81; Vergilius, i. 5. 40; i. 6. 55; i. 10. 45. 81.

² To the dead: Alpinus, i. 10. 36; Bolanus, i. 9. 11; Caesar, ii. 1. 19. 84; Calvus, i. 10. 19; Catullus, i. 10. 19; Ennius, i. 10. 54; Laberius, i. 10. 6; Laevinus, i. 6. 12. 19; Lucilius, i. 4. 6-13. 57; i. 10. 2. 56; ii. 1. 17. 75; Lupus, ii. 1. 68; Maltinus, i. 2. 25; Mettela, ii. 3. 239; Metellus, ii. 1. 67; Pediatius, i. 8. 39; Pythagoras, ii. 6. 63; Tigellius, i. 2. 3; i. 3. 4; Varro Atacinus, i. 10. 46; Voranus, i. 8. 39.

To the living: Arellius, ii. 6. 78; Arrius, ii. 3. 243; Aufidius, i. 5. 34; Balatro, ii. 8. 33. 40. 64. 83; Barrus, i. 6. 30; Canidia, i. 8. 24. 48; ii. 8. 95; ii. 1. 48; Caprius, i. 4. 66. 70; Cassius, i. 10. 62; Catienus, ii. 3. 61; Catius, ii. 4. 88; Coranus, ii. 5. 57. 64; Crispinus, i. 3. 139; i. 4. 14; i. 1. 120; ii. 1. 7. 45; Demetrius, i. 10. 79. 90; Fabius, i. 1. 14; Fannius, i. 4. 21; i. 10. 80; Flavius, i. 6. 72; Fufidius, i. 2. 12; Fufius, ii. 3. 60; Gargonius, i. 4. 92; i. 2. 27; Hermogenes, i. 4. 72; i. 10. 18. 80. 90; Labeo, i. 3. 82; Lepos, ii. 6. 72; Messius, i. 5. 52. 54-69; Nasica, ii. 5. 57. 65. 67; Natta, i. 6. 124; Novii, i. 6. 121; Persius, i. 7. 2-4. 19. 22. 33; Petillius, i. 4. 94; i. 10. 26; Rex Rupiius, i. 7. 1; Scaeva, ii. 1. 53; Servilius, ii. 1. 21. 33; Sisyphus, i. 3. 47; Sulcius, i. 4. 65. 70; Tillius, ii. 1. 49; Turius, ii. 1. 49; Varius, ii. 8. 63; Vibidius, ii. 8. 33.

fearless and straightforward in his praise as well as in his adverse criticisms, since he did not hesitate to use as illustrations the well-known people of this time.

The unfavorable references include a large list of people. Among the dead, Horace sneers at Tigellius, the singer, Pediatius, the effeminate knight, and the poets, Calvus and Catullus. The references to contemporaries are no less severe, especially in the case of the poetasters, Cassius, Crispinus, and Fannius. He exposes Lepos, who dances badly, also Rupilius, and Gargonius, the fops. Especially bitter is his treatment of Hermogenes.

Taking the references as a whole, there are twenty-eight that are favorable and one hundred and two that are unfavorable. This takes no account of those persons who are simply mentioned as too colorless to be considered in either class; and of the one hundred and thirty references I have found, as shown above, that only forty-five refer to fictitious characters, while the remaining eighty-five are to real persons. Hence, the evidence shows that Horace did use, to a greater extent, as illustrations, living contemporaries.

TABULAR SUMMARY

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Total
Fictitious types	1	42	43
Merely mentioned		2	2
Total	1	44	45
Real persons:			
Living	16	40	56
Dead	11	18	29
Total	27	58	85
Total references	28	102	130